/8 cont./

122 The trips were made possible thanks to support given by the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, by the Reitoria /Rectorship/ of the same Universidade, and by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. To all, my sincere thanks.

114 I also want to thank, and very cordially, my many Indian friends, who, sometimes with great personal sacrifice, helped me in carrying out the investigations. Without the good will continually demonstrated, the pages of this book would not have been written. It is impossible to mention them all here. I shall note only a few names: Marçal de Souza, Paí /paí, religious chief among the Kayová/ José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, Paí Chiquinho, Paí Vitaliano, ñanderú /religious chief among the Ñandéva and Mbüá (Mbya)/ Bastião, Capitão Maneco (or Poýdjú, who is txeruángá, my adoptive father), and Capitão Francisco. I owe a very great deal to all of them.

[123] [115]

122 128 And, in conclusion, my greatest thanks to that excellent gentleman Professor Dr. Eurípides Simoes de Paula, D. D. Director of the Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras of the Universidade de São Paulo, who helped me to overcome all difficulties; always ready to help, he did everything in his power so that this work would be published in the best possible way.

São Paulo, 8th of July of 1954.

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Note for the Second Edition

The benevolence with which this work, originally published as Boletim da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, has been received by the critics has encouraged me to accept the proposal to republish it in the collection "Corpo e Alma do Brasil" /Body and Soul of Brazil/. Upon rereading it, I thought it best not to change it, for it describes aspects of a certain historical situation of the tribal culture in interaction with that of neighboring populations. I only made a few corrections of little importance. Some particular questions, only touched on in passing here, will be discussed in special essays at opportune times.

São Paulo, 23rd of October of 1960.

2: Schaden--26 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
76 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
82 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[179] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
[164] latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[80] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

2: Schaden--37 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground; the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambí; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perô. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./

342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 rogã (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoía), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

2: Schaden--157 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/122 cont./

782 424 114 then played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to [123] put them on the radio" (13).

13. /From p. 151 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Ñandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacareí confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Ñandedjára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Ñandedjára txedjuká," said Hilário. Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [784] [796] [829]

782 778 774 It is not easy to find out what the nature of the porahêi is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeẽ or ayvú, that is, language [192] or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

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2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
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14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[756] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
● 123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[926] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

/128 cont./

754 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices
• 123 of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one
wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /129/ the suspicion that he uses
[184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones
in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some
829 way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil,"
[782] called ñeẽgaraſ, which the individual sing alone (to the sound
of the maraca, according to Marçal); in order to neutralize the
[538] harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs,
called ñembóévaſ or tekópapá; they are sung (softly and without
mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object be-
longing to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes
sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take
hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the
danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white
man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.
[782] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraſ referred to above (along
with mbórahẽi ivaſ) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in
order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is,
the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paſ Jose). Perhaps it was with
mbórahẽi ivaſ that Paſ Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy
the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance
on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied
by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name
mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.
[782] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still
do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly
speaking is called mohĩ vaſ, done with food remains (orange
and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not
want to teach me the technique.

754 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked
755 about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person
who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges
himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the
former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

2: Schaden--189 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/144 cont./

771 177 178 [182] [184] evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of Panambí would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine, in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One example: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/. [669] [787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer; he received it a few days before his departure and that very night he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear, because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe and sound. That was what happened.

771 796 177 829 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous attempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant [184] [123] to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village. It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a Nemongaraí, with an exhibition of all ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

2: Schaden--194 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musical instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or mbaraká, and the rhythm sticks, or takuá(pú), used in all the religious ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time for the religious dances and prayers with the mbaraká, while the women accompany them with the takuapú. In only one village, in Ikariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a Mbüá flanderú who replaced the gourd mbaraká (or also mbaraká í) with a guitar of industrial origin (yvyrá mbaraká or simply mbaraká), which is known in other villages only for playing secular music. The flanderú referred to only struck the strings to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the Chaco and farther west (1).

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1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

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As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the mbarimbáu, a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line, merits mention; one of the ends is placed in the mouth; one blows with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also existing in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

[171]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most other Brazilians.

The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the *Serviço* personnel often regard with a view similar to that of many field ethnographers.[114] Rondon himself and many of his associates are members of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the *Serviço* in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União, there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphanage and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Brazilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the mission.)

No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conversion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group. (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening, and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[114] Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

[P.145]

Pictures by courtesy of Chicago Natural History Museum. Photography by Virginia D. Watson.

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FIG. 2. Passing up tied bundles of thatch for roof, to be held in place under horizontal bamboo stringers. House location in open field not typical of Cayuá; house was for anthropologists. House style typical of present Cayuá.

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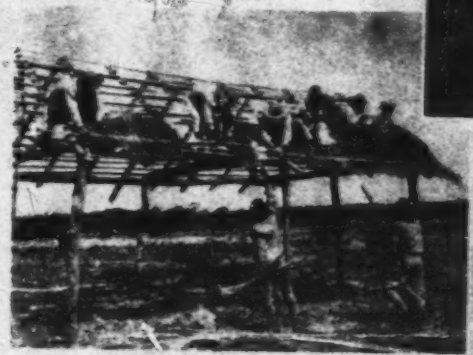

FIG. 1. Single remaining aboriginal-type *tapúi* at Taquapuri. Log tanks for *cauí* in center. Dance ground in left foreground. Corn for *cauí* cooking in iron pots on fire.

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FIG. 4. Men of joint work group (*mbuſirão*) clearing a *kokué* for planting. They try to keep up with each other as the line of workers advances across the area to be cut over. Here second growth of about a year, small trees and brush, is being cut.

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FIG. 3. Modern style of Cayuá house with bamboo "board," sides, yet showing some *tapúi* influence in the back which is inclined and wholly of thatch. Squash ripening at side.

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FIG. 5. Burning off the slash—at the height of the fire. This slash was not as dry as some, and the result will not be a clean burn. Some trees are usually left standing.